

SELECTED ATTITUDES OF BLACK STUDENTS ATTENDING
THREE PREDOMINATELY BLACK AND THREE
PREDOMINATELY WHITE COLLEGES

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Alienation is an individual's feeling of uneasiness or discomfort which reflect his exclusion or self-exclusion from social and cultural participation. It is an expression of nonbelonging or non-sharing, an uneasy awareness or perception of unwelcome contact with others. It may be a sporadic feeling arising from specific encounters and events that involve a small or large number of individuals, or may be a continuous and sometimes intense feeling perpetuated by the individual's self-concept, or others view of him, his socio-cultural location, and change that this location undergoes.

Black students who choose white colleges or universities receive warm welcomes from admission officers but may receive insensitive treatment from faculty and students. The attitudes that black students attending predominately white colleges may range from hostility to tolerance to full acceptance, and the black student may feel isolated and alienated by virtue of the number of black students on campus.

Education of black college students is filled with evidence of differential treatment. As a race, blacks have encountered problems of admission to institutions of higher education that have been predominately all white. In some cases, this has meant complete denial of admission and in others, a quota system has reduced the chances of their being considered for admission on the same basis as white students.

Predominately black colleges and universities, by and large, have been used to educate the majority of black college students. These institutions differ just as widely among themselves in size, quality, and resources as do all the other institutions of higher learning in the nation.

The present day picture of education for black students has changed to the point where institutions that formerly did not admit blacks or admitted them only in small numbers are now seeking them to such extent that the students feel courted. These students, once admitted, are in some cases banding together to the exclusion of whites and are in turn making demands of the institutions.

Predominately white schools have taken measures to increase the number of black students on their campuses. These institutions are now facing a new challenge for which few people, either black or white are fully prepared. When white colleges and universities reach into American black communities to find talented people with potential for college work, they assume a responsibility to these young people that goes beyond providing them with the traditional academic excellence in rhetoric, composition, and philosophy.

With the growing number of blacks on predominately white campuses, most of whom are in nearly every sense alien from white American middle-class culture, adds quite a new dimension to the university's responsibility.

Black students on today's campuses are part of the new breed. They are a minority group that is not only growing larger but is becoming increasingly concerned with establishing a sense of identity and racial pride. They are demanding a relevant education, where relevant courses are defined as those taught by blacks or white professors who understand

and take account of the black man's contribution and point of view. Such courses should include information and ideas that will help them understand themselves, their people, and the black man's role in society.

The Problem

One thing that needs to be understood about the black student in a predominately white college is that he is in a sense a displaced person. The dilemma is a hard one to resolve. If better colleges are now open to him, the black student feels he must enter one in order to compete in modern society. But if he does, he subjects himself to severe alienation from supportive factors of his root sub-culture, both at home and away. Sometimes the white student gets a taste of this when he enters a college a long way from home or if he comes from a small town or deprived family. But his new environment is not as dramatically difference from his old as for the black student, who may even be tempted to reject his ties with his own sub-culture to make his new associates feel more comfortable in their attempt to "integrate" him. After four years of this, he may end up without any clear sense of identity in the white or black community -- or worse, in his own eyes.¹

There are two distinguishing emphases and styles among black students, depending on whether the campus is predominately white or predominately black. On white campuses, students are organized in groups such as the Afro-American Society, and Black Student Associations. If several groups operate

¹C. A. Fields, "Princeton University's Response to Today's Negro Students," National Association of Women Deans and Counseling Journal, XXXII (Winter, 1969), 70.

on campus, a coalition group might speak on behalf of all black groups. These groups are usually articulate, cohesive, and visible.

Their counterpart on black campuses share similar goals, but must be viewed in relation to the social and cultural structure of the black campus. On white campuses, black students want to escape total emersion in "white values" that they perceived to be alienating, materialistic, and racist. On black campuses, students want to escape total emersion in "black bourgeoisie culture" which they see as paternalistic.¹ Thus, the problem of student alienation may enter into the picture on either type campus, the predominately white or predominately black college.

Student participation in extra-curricular activities is an important aspect of the education of the individual. When students are restricted or feel that they are restricted from participating or membership in activities of a college, this presents a special problem to the school and to the student.

Black students who come from different social backgrounds from the white students on a predominately white college campus may withdraw in the security of their own group, other blacks. These students may find that campus life is a alien place in which they must adjust their behavior which may not be "typical" of the majority student body. However, black students on a predominately black college campus have a great deal in common. They come from similar socio-economic backgrounds, and an important factor of the student's experience is that he sees a large number of black faces, as his own, on the black campus.

This study was undertaken in the hopes that an analysis of selected

¹Ibid., p. 71.

attitudes of black students attending three predominately black and three predominately white colleges will lead to a clearer, more valid definition of the student's perception of the college he is attending and at the same time give some indication as to the extent of involvement in activities of black students.

In the era of intense interest in problems of blacks in the United States, the attitudes of black students at traditionally white institutions of higher education have been neglected by research. The Census Bureau report between 1964 and 1971, the black student population in the United States nearly tripled, from 234,000 to 680,000.¹

In 1964 there were 105.5 thousand black students enrolled in predominately black colleges. With the increase in the number of black students attending predominately white colleges and universities, research is needed in order that we may understand how the black students at the white college is adjusting to the middle-class college campus.

Review of the Literature

Material cited in this study include research data drawn from the 1970 Census, journals, periodicals, and additional published works. Unpublished doctoral dissertations were also utilized in gathering related research information.

Because of the relatively recent arrival of many black students at previously all-white colleges and universities, research on the adjustment of these students is limited. However, with the recent increase in the number of black students entering white colleges, empirical research is

¹United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Report, Series P-20 No. 234, "School Enrollment in the United States," 1971.

necessary in learning about student attitudes and their perception of their college environment.

Despite the great volume of research concerned with ethnic attitudes and the extensive writings regarding extra-curricular activities in general, there appears to have been relatively little effort given to a consideration of the manner in which student participation in extra-curricular activities reflect the attitudinal climate of the campus. In many ways the campus community is a smaller representation of the larger community. To this community a student brings the social attitudes he has been developing since childhood. In the voluntary activities of college he is brought into close contact with other students in situations which call for behavioral manifestations of his attitudes.

Kate and John Mueller conducted an investigation of the general socio-economic status of students and its relation to participation in extra-curricular activities.¹ Generally this study reported that students from lower status homes participated in activities to a smaller extent than did students coming from more privileged backgrounds. A study by Grahm also took notice of the tendency toward middle class dominance of activities and further observed that when minority group students do participate it is likely to be in extra-curricular activities or exclusive groups built around their own minority status. Morris in summarizing the needs of black youth in California concludes that black students required special guidance and extra-curricular activities because of their minority group status.²

¹Kate Mueller and John Mueller, "Class Structure and Academic and Social Success," Educational and Psychological Measurement, XIII (1953), 486-96.

²Russel Morris, "Social Economic Background of Negro Youth in California," Journal of Negro Education, XX (1951), 23-25.

One of the problems empirical studies of alienation must confront is the multiplicity of meaning attached to the concept. Seeman has suggested that there are five major meanings: Powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement.¹ The types of alienation and attitude statements associated with each are as follows:

1. Powerlessness. "There is not much that I can do about most of the important problems we face today."
2. Meaninglessness. "Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what's going on."
3. Normlessness. "In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right."
4. Cultural estrangement. "I am not much interested in the TV programs, movies, activities, or magazines or books most people seem to like." Seeman refers to this variant of alienation as isolation.
5. Social estrangement. "I often feel lonely."

To be socially isolated is to have few contacts with family, community, and peers: to be lonely is to have an unwelcome feeling or lack of companionship. It is then, the feeling of loneliness that is crucial to alienation.²

Social rejection and isolation are detrimental to the black students academic and social behavior. The bulk of early studies on racial attitudes

¹Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1951), 783-790.

²Ibid., p. 791.

of school children indicate that from an early age they expressed strong preference for their own racial group.¹ Similar results were obtained in a study of preference of college students in 1931 conducted by J. P. Guilford.²

Severe stress due to social isolation and rejection has been experienced by black students at various desegregated colleges and universities. For example, several months after entering the University of Mississippi as its first black student, during which time he was often in considerable physical danger, James Meridith emphasized that rejection and social isolation were the most difficult features of his experience. He referred to himself as "the most segregated Negro in the world" despite his enrollment at the University.³

Two black students who initiated integration at the University of Georgia experienced social isolation during their entire two-year enrollment.⁴

Belonging to the majority, whether actual or symbolic, and sharing the common way of life also enhances one's feeling of integration into the larger society. They tend to foster an impression of likeness or universality of beliefs, customs, and interests and to dampen the tendency to question that which is given, to search beyond it or to refute it. Inclusion-

¹H. Meltzer, "Group Difference in Nationality and Race Preference of Children," Sociometry, II (March, 1939), 86-105.

²J. P. Guilford, "Racial Preference of One Thousand American University Students," Journal of Psychology, II (1931), 179-204.

³G. I. Joseph, "Black Students on Predominately White Campus," National Association of Women Deans and Counseling Journal, XXIII (Winter, 1969), 63-66.

⁴C. Trillian, An Education in Georgia (New York: Viking Press, 1964), pp. 40-42.

ion in the majority fosters an unquestioning acceptance of the existing traditional authority. On the other hand, minority membership tends to make the individual aware of contrasts and differences, the manifold plurality of social life, unless the minority he belongs to is an isolated and self-contained sub-culture, minimizing its members contact with outsiders. The sharing of minority status and minority sub-cultures usually implies either self-exclusion or exclusion by other or both, a considerable degree of apartness from "everyone else" which the individual occasionally experiences as a moderate or intense feeling of alienation.¹

The number of American blacks attending college increased 85 per cent between 1964 and 1968, compared to the total college enrollment increase of only 46 per cent.² Much of this increase has been in institutions which traditionally have enrolled a predominance of whites.³

Increased desegregation has not been without accompanying problems in the colleges and universities of the nation. One of the most serious has been, what Egerton termed the "unpreparedness" of colleges and universities. These institutions by their very nature, tend to be slow to change: Egerton concluded that few of the institutions he studied had demonstrated "either the skill or the determination to 'educate' students who differ markedly from middle class white students they are accustomed to having."⁴

¹Guglielmo Ferro, Principles of Power (New York: Putnam, 1942), p. 89.

²Chronicle of Higher Education (October 13, 1969), 30-35.

³Ibid., p. 40.

⁴J. Egerton, State Universities and Black Americans (Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation, 1969), pp. 23-36.

Recent research generally has focused on samples of students at a single institution or has investigated black and white students' characteristics. Hedgegard and Brown studied a group of black freshmen who entered the University of Michigan in 1966. Through the use of extensive questionnaires, the group expectations and experiences during their initial year of college were compared with those of a random sample of white freshmen.¹ Black students were found to be less active either as spectators or performers in broadly cultural, intellectual, and artistic enterprises or activities. In addition, black women experienced more difficulty in dating than did either white males or females or black males. Black students tended to be less satisfied than whites with the help the college had given them in progressing toward their goals. Specifically, 22 per cent of the black students in the sample were dissatisfied, compared to 13 per cent of the white students. There were several on campus activities in which black students, as compared to white students, were involved only minimally. One might speculate that the black student, a relatively recent addition to most white colleges, has found himself faced with extracurricular activities shaped by and for what has been the dominant student culture. This dominant culture, in general, has been white and middle class. Given different interests and concerns, black students have spent their spare time in activities most meaningful to them, especially promoting civil rights or improving their situation on campus.²

Dating and social life, as the data indicate, was a particular

¹J. M. Hedgegard, and T. M. Newcomb, "Encounters of Some Negro and White Freshmen with a Public Multiversity," Journal of Social Issues, XXV (Summer, 1969), 131-142.

²Ibid., p. 143.

activity in which black students were involved only marginally. Discrimination by fraternities, sororities, or social clubs may be one explanation. For black women in particular, social life can be distressfully bleak.¹

In a 1968 New York Times survey of several northeastern campuses, one girl complained: 'we can't ask a white boy for a date and you can be sure they don't ask us. With lots of black boys dating white girls, we just sit around the dorm and get angry.'²

Black students appeared not only to be very much aware of their minority status but also to perceive their colleges as places where race or background determined friendship and associations. For black students in the previously mentioned survey, the college environment also seemed to be racially imbued. Lukas concluded from the survey that black student unrest "stemmed less from outright bigotry than from the 'feel' of an alien institution whose inhabitants often display quite unconscious insensitivity and ignorance."³

Bayer and Baruch used information from the 1968 freshman survey conducted by the American Council on Education (ACE) to compare black and white freshman characteristics at entrance to college.⁴ Included in the survey were 200 predominately white colleges. The findings from the study showed that black students were less involved than white students in organized politics, career interest clubs, dating and social life, instrumental

¹Ibid., p. 144.

²J. A. Lukas, "The Negro at an Integrated College: Now He's Proud of His Color," The New York Times (June 3, 1968), 25-26.

³Ibid.

⁴A. E. Bayer and R. R. Baruch, "The Black Student in American Colleges," American Council on Education Research Report, IX (1969), p. 9.

music, individual sports, and recreational outing sports. Black students, on the other hand, were more involved than whites in community service or social welfare programs, civil rights activities, and student activist organizations.¹

Wesleyan University, a leader in recruiting black students, has experienced several racial crises which have resulted in what one observer describes as "two nations" in which "with rare exceptions white and black students do not even talk to each other."² This lack of communication has left black students to themselves. They are on campus but individuals pass by without a "Hello" or "Good Day". Thus students are living in a situation where the physical environment is somewhat hostile, and students are alienated from campus activities and other related events sponsored by the university.³

Hartnett studied attitudes of blacks attending traditionally black and traditionally white institutions.⁴ He found that black students who enter integrated institutions are more independent with both family and peers, liberal, and have higher social conscience. Family independence refers to a generalized autonomy in relation to parents and parental family. Students with high scores tend to perceive themselves as coming from families that are not closely united, as not consulting with parents

¹Ibid., p. 11.

²R. T. Margolis, "The Two Nations at Wesleyan University," The New York Times Magazine, (January 18, 1970), 16.

³Ibid., p. 18.

⁴Rodney T. Hartnett, "Differences in Selected Attitudes and College Orientation Between Black Students Attending Traditionally Negro and Traditionally White Institutions," Sociology of Education, XLII (Fall, 1970), 419.

about important matters, and the like. Peer independence refers to a generalized autonomy in relation to peers. Students with high scores tend not to be concerned about how their behavior appears to other students, and might be thought of as unsociable, introverted, or inner-directed. Thus, it appears that the black student entering a traditionally black college, when compared to his counterpart entering integrated institutions tend to be more dependent on his family and parents, and to conform more closely to prevailing peer norms.¹

Traditionally white colleges have been quick to recognize the scholastic and financial deficits characterizing young black students and accordingly have designed elaborate remedial programs. They include such strategies as pre-college summer institutes to improve communication and computational skills, extending the period for completion of the baccalaureate degree from four years and grant-in-aid to cover not only tuition, but personal miscellaneous expenses as well. What they have not done is to recognize the strong possibility that these students undergo painful personal upheavals associated with movement into the white middle class world of higher education.² Data reported by Panos and Astin reveal that the entering college student who is most likely not to complete the four years is one who has a low high school grade point average, is in financial need, and has no plans to attend graduate school at the time he enters college.³ They further reported that colleges that encourage student

¹Ibid., p. 420.

²Ann S. Pruitt, "Black Poor in White Colleges: Personal Growth Goal," Journal of College Student Personnel, XI (January, 1970), 3-7.

³A. Astin and R. Panos, "Attrition Among College Students," American Educational Research Journal, V (1968), 57-60.

persistence are characterized by cohesiveness, cooperativeness, and independence, and that they show considerable concern for the individual student. These are precisely the attributes that black students are not likely to find on many predominately white colleges.¹

Leading Ideas

The effect of the subordinate upon interaction has been recognized at least since the appearance of Simmel's writings on the form of socialization when he termed "Superordination-Subordination".² This form of socialization was described as an inherently reciprocal or interactive relationship because of the freedom retained by the subordinate to react to his position in the dyad unless physically prevented from so doing. That freedom was seen as restricted only by the limits of the subordinate's capacity to perceive the alternative responses available to him and by the extent of his willingness to make the sacrifices entailed by the choice of a specific alternative. Freedom to interact reciprocally was viewed as inherent in human relationships because, short of a mere expression of egoism, man does not seek simply to use another as a "thing", but to gain from the subordinate's reaction the feeling of his own superordinate position.

More recently, Everett and Helen Hughes contended that "the true unit of race and ethnic relation is not the single ethnic group but the situation embracing the diverse group who live in the community or region."³

¹Ibid., pp. 61-63.

²Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and ed. Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 122-125.

³Everett Hughes and Helen Hughes, Where People Meet (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), p. 19.

In a study of attitudes, Simpson and Yinger stated the following:

What a person "is" cannot be defined independently of the whole situation in which he is interacting. Each person has a great many potentialities for behavior. Which ones will appear depends upon the situation, but none can appear for which there is no potentiality.¹

Williams commented on the importance of studying the reciprocal interaction between minority and majority attitudes:

The communication and interaction of any one minority, racial or cultural group with the dominant group is, of course, one pole of a two-sided relationship. What looked at from one pole is a "stimulus" becomes a "response" from the other. This was very clear to earlier students of race relations, notably Park, but has tended to be obscured in the present generation by the focus upon majority prejudice, although everything we know now points to its inherently reciprocal nature.²

Noel also observed that the inherently reciprocal nature of inter-group relations had been largely ignored, "generally to the detriment of our knowledge about the minority group".³

Gordon noted that the failure of structural assimilation, too, as opposed to cultural assimilation of minorities in America had been due generally to resistance by both minority and majority persons.⁴ Cultural assimilation here refers to the incorporation of the values of the larger

¹George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination (revised edition; New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 132.

²Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Review and Assessment of Race and Culture," (unpublished manuscript, ca. 1952), cited in "The American Negro Dilemma: Attitudes of Negro Professionals Toward Competition With Whites," David H. Howard, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1963, pp. 1-2.

³Donald Leroy Noel, "Correlates of Anti-White Prejudice: Attitudes of Negro in Four American Cities," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1960), p. 1.

⁴Milton M. Gordon, "Social Structure and Goals in Group Relations," Freedom and Control in Modern Society, eds. M.B. Travel and C.H. Page (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 151-152.

society, while structural assimilation relates to participation in the institutions and processes of that society. A group, thus, may be culturally "American" but structurally isolated from full participation outside of the ethnic group.

Simpson and Yinger also found evidence of the reciprocal nature of black-white relations in observations of the developments in the protest movement.¹ Noting that the initiative had shifted from whites to blacks, they commented that "it is no longer so much a question of what the white man will do. Minority strategies have become the critical questions."²

The study of alienation is a difficult task to undertake. Considering the increase in the number of black students enrolled in predominately white colleges and universities, it becomes a concern for researchers to investigate how these students are functioning in the white middle-class setting of the traditionally white campus.

Many black students come from entirely different social and cultural backgrounds from their fellow white students on the white college campus. The idea of different environments and people may foster feelings of non-belonging, or apartness, David Elkind commented that:

The provision of a college education for disadvantaged black students is a multifaceted problem. As a psychologist, the side of the problem which most interests me is its socio-psychological aspect. More concretely, the ghetto school is a different socio-psychological milieu from the college campus, whereas the suburban school, particularly at the high school level, has already taken on many of the modes, practices, and styles of the college domain. So, while there is considerable continuity between suburban high school and college campus, this is not the case for the ghetto high school.³

¹ Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 541.

² Ibid., p. 544.

³ David Elkind, "From Ghetto School to College Campus: Some Discontinuities and Continuities," Journal of School Psychology, IX (1971), 241.

Black colleges are facing a difficult period in their history, but they serve a very important need for the black student. Black students are faced with institutions still representing the missionary influence which they were founded: institutions administered by blacks under white control. However, since black institutions provide for black students a more familiar and less hostile environment in comparison to a white, or traditionally white campus, we would assume that black students would feel less isolated and alienated at the black school.

Many writers have stated the belief that extracurricular activities are a vital part of a educational program, particularly in regards to their contribution to social adjustment. One of these writers, L. E. Vredevo1, made a study of student activity programs, comparing them with stated philosophy and objectives of the school.¹ Vredevo1 came to the conclusion that the real implementation of a school's philosophy is to be in its extracurricular activities program. According to his view, an activity should give students experience which will enable them to develop contacts and skills.

Since participation in activities is so important, several questions have arisen: (1) To what extent are black students involved in activities at a predominately black and predominately white college, (2) What are the reasons for non-participation in extra-curricular activities, and (3) Is there a relationship between the student's perception of school and his participation in activities.

Although traditionally white colleges have begun to recruit more

¹L. E. Vredevo1, "How American is Your Activity Program?" Educational Leadership, XX (November, 1954), 99-102.

black students, the number of black students on these campuses still remain relatively small. Students who are accustomed to seeing other black students frequently and in large numbers may find the white campus a frustrating place.¹

Security of being with other black students, may isolate these black students from the overall campus life. Their fears, perception and feeling about whites, faculty and administration may keep them from fully utilizing their services which could possibly aid them in achieving academic success.²

A large number of black and white students will have come from communities in which there was little or no contact between blacks and whites. Blacks are generally forced into separate second-class community existence throughout the American society. In their separate existence they have developed a distinctive subculture. At the same time the black student is taught in schools and through other socializing agencies to respect and uphold the values and aspirations of the dominant culture. Thus, the black student may stand straddling two "cultures". . . the one into which he is limited by discrimination and prejudice and the one which he is urged to emulate.

Since blacks still enjoy only partial access to the "culture" of whites, Derbyshire perceived a problem inherent in this process of utilizing the whites as a normative reference group.³ If blacks take over certain

¹Haron M. Bindman, "Participation of Negro Students in an Integrated University," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1965), p. 128.

²Ibid., p. 132.

³Robert L. Derbyshire, "Personal Identity: An Attitude Study of American Negro College Students," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1964), p. 259.

values and goals from the white world, they may find themselves limited in the opportunities required to achieve those goals.¹

Derbyshire's study was oriented theoretically to the psycho-analytic concept of identity as motivational force which can be analyzed in terms of a specific set of attitudes. Attitudes, therefore, were taken to be an outgrowth of the interaction between personal identity and the social structure. The central assumption of the study was that "the experience of growing up as a Negro in an American segregated urban community has a significant effect upon identity formation and on the ways of defining and reacting to social situations."²

Derbyshire regarded an individual's self-perception as dependent upon culturally-defined goals, social contacts, and psychogenic phenomena. Two major identification pressures on American blacks were hypothesized: (1) American cultural patterns as they really exist and (2) the "quasi-American" cultural patterns peculiar to blacks together with the fact of his physiognomic visibility.³

In the traditionally white college there is a predominance of white instructors, faculty and administrators who students may feel are unsympathetic to the black student's needs. This is not to say that all the faculty and administrators on the black campus are black, as there are numerous white professors on the faculty in predominately black colleges and universities. However, students may perceive these white instructors and professors as being somewhat "sympathetic" to their needs by the fact

¹Ibid., p. 16.

²Ibid., p. 18.

³Ibid., p. 191.

of their presence on the black campus.¹

According to David Elkind, there is a discontinuity encountered by the disadvantaged black student moving from the ghetto school to the white college campus, which is an important factor in the student's experience. In ghetto or inner-city schools, black children are usually in the majority, in most colleges and universities they are in the minority. The inner-city school provides, therefore, a feeling of community and strength in numbers. This is true for the language, the clothing, and faculty. While the ghetto school may not "accomplish" a great deal "educationally", it does provide the black student with a defined social situation where he is in the majority and where his language, attitudes, and mores prevail.²

The current black students demand for black professors and administrators has some foundations in research reported in 1968 by Gottlieb.³ According to Gottlieb, blacks have difficulty perceiving the teacher as someone who has a desire to help them. Black teachers, more than white, are viewed as understanding their unique problems. Black students who view their instructors as coming from the same social, cultural, and economic background are more likely to feel a sense of belonging and part of the group.⁴

¹R. W. Heath, "Ability of White Teachers to Relate to Black Students and to White Students," American Educational Research Journal, VII (January, 1971), 1-10.

²Elkind, op. cit., p. 243.

³D. Gottlieb, "Goal Aspiration and Goal Fulfillment: Differences Between Deprived and Affluent American Adolescents," American Journal of Ortho-Psychology, XXXIV (1964), 934.

⁴Ibid., p. 936.

Definition of Relevant Concepts

The study of attitudes has long been discussed and investigated, as with any such research it becomes necessary for us to define the terms as used in this study.

Attitude.--Claire Selltiz referred to the numerous definitions of the term "attitude" which were available to the researcher.¹ The definition of attitude employed in this study refers to the tendency of black students to behave in a certain way, and to the beliefs they have toward the college or university they are attending. Also included in student attitudes are evaluations or perceptions which students have toward faculty, school policy, and overall student body.

The below listed definitions of terms used in this study were taken from the following work: A Dictionary of Sociology, Chicago: Aldene Publishing Company, 1968.

Alienation.--The state in which an individual feels no sense of belonging to his community, or school. Personal contacts are neither stable nor satisfactory; an individual feeling of uneasiness or discomfort which reflect his exclusion or self-exclusion from social or cultural participation.

Normlessness.--The individual feeling that illegitimate means are required to achieve goals; the lack of clarity in goals and norms or absence of social ties, and the state in which socially prescribed goals and norms governing their attainment are incompatible.

¹Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965, revised edition), p. 146.

Powerlessness.--A low expectancy for control of events as a lack of control over the political system, the industrial economy, internal affairs of one's school, and the control of one's own destiny. It is a feeling on the part of an individual that he cannot influence the social situation in which he interacts.

Social Isolation.--A feeling of estrangement from cultural goals of society, and the inability to find self-rewarding activities. Individuals have few contacts with peers, family and community. To be socially isolated is to be lonely and an unwelcome feeling or lack or loss of companionship.

Sub-culture.--A social situation class status background, regional and rural residence, and religious affiliation formed in combination of functioning units which have an integrated impact on participating individuals.¹ As a result of segregation, and the restrictions placed on black participation in many activities in our society, institutions have been created in which only blacks interact, e.g., schools, churches, and neighborhoods. In these institutions, values and norms may not, and for the most part do not, conform to white middle-class standards.

According to Simpson and Yinger, blacks who favored separate education offered the following reasons:

1. Mixed schools are concerned only with the needs of whites, whereas Negroes receive more "inspiration" and social participation in all-Negro schools.

¹M. M. Gordon, "The Concept of the Subculture and Its Application," Social Forces, XXIV (1947), 40.

2. Social discrimination suffered by Negroes in interracial schools has negative personality effects.
3. Segregated schools offer employment opportunities for Negroes.
4. Segregated schools can be controlled by Negroes, whereas in integrated schools Negroes have no influence at all.¹

Simpson and Yinger categorically state that "most Negroes fight segregation if there is any chance of success", their ultimate resignation only concealing strong resentment.² The reason for black opposition to segregated schools are: (1) "Separate" has meant "inferior" schools and (2) Negroes cannot participate fully in American life as long as they are required to live separately.³

It would be a mistake to attribute all aspects of the black cultural experience to prejudice and discrimination. However, it would be safe to say that prejudice and minority status does increase the black person's chances of being in the lower-class.⁴

Personality tendencies attributed to blacks may be in part due to marginality or status inconsistencies common to all modern urban men.⁵ Stonequist defines the characteristics of marginality as "ambivalence, a

¹ Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., pp. 417-418.

² Ibid., p. 418. See also Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation (New York: Harper and Row, 1943), pp. 23-24.

³ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 145.

strain of roles that heightens self-consciousness and attention to self, and an inferiority complex, or it may express itself in egocentrism, withdrawal, and aggression.¹

In this study blacks are viewed as a "sub-cultural group", because of their high visibility and because blacks still enjoy only partial access to the "culture" of whites. Frazier argued that, while efforts to escape inferiority feelings were understandable and could even have beneficial effects if they led to educational aspiration, Negroes have tended to develop a "world of make-believe" characterized by stress on "society", "glamour", entertainment, escape in self-delusion through the pursuit of wealth and power, magic and chance, or sex and alcohol.²

The below listed concepts were operationalized by the author as follows:

Black Students. Individuals who are of African descent and attending an American college or university. The term "black" student is used interchangeably with "Afro-American" and "Negro" student.

Extra-curricular Activities. Events, and interest which are not part of the actual course of study leading to the diploma or degree, but which is regarded as an active part of student life, e.g., athletics, social clubs, dances, fraternities and sororities. Individuals may be involved in activities for recreation, information, entertainment, and cultural awareness.

Predominately Black College. A college which has as its student

¹Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict (New York: Scribner, 1937), pp. 139-158.

²E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 213, 231.

population an overwhelming majority of black students. The term "traditionally black college" is used interchangeably with "predominately black" and "black" college throughout this study.

Predominately White College. A college which has as its student population an overwhelming majority of white students. The terms "traditionally white" and "white" college are used synonymously with "predominately white" college.

Socio-economic Background. The status position which an individual or group of individuals occupy. Socio-economic level of students is determined by occupation, income, and education of parents.

Student Perception. The insight or intuition that students feel faculty and administrators have toward them. Students may perceive faculty and professors as having positive, neutral, or negative feelings toward them, e.g., students may feel that faculty and administrators are friendly, unfriendly, prejudice, unprejudiced, etc.

Hometown. The city or town where the individual grew up and attended high school. The individual's hometown would be the locality where one spent the largest portion of his life.

Citation from the literature necessitated the utilization of terms employed in the studies cited. Unfortunately, it was not always clear that the literature had arrived at the standardization of terminology. However, when a specifically different meaning was intended by the utilization of a different term, the difference in intent was cited. Therefore, it was hoped that concepts employed in the study have precise definitions which is a crucial factor in the success of any sociological research.

Hypotheses

There are several hypotheses involved in the research of this study,

which are as follows:

1. There is a significant difference between participation in extra-curricular activities of black students attending predominately black colleges and black students attending predominately white colleges.
2. There is a significant difference between the alienation and social isolation of black students attending predominately white colleges and black students attending predominately black colleges.
3. Black students attending predominately white colleges have different perception of professors and instructors from black students attending predominately black colleges.

Methodology

A comparative analysis will be made of black students attending three predominately white and three predominately black colleges. In an attempt to investigate the problem, data will be gathered and analyzed in order to answer the following questions:

1. What extent are black students involved in extra-curricular activities at predominately black and white colleges.
2. How do students perceive their college environment, their professors, and overall student body at predominately black and predominately white colleges.
3. Is there a relationship between social isolation of black students and racial makeup of high school graduated.

The independent variables in this study include: (a) sex, (b) classification, (c) type college, and (4) type high school graduated.

The dependent variables include: (a) participation status in extra-curricular activities, (b) social isolation, and (c) student perception.

In this study we will use certain two-sample tests that can be used with ordinal scales, tests which are directly comparable to tests involving differences of means and proportions which are commonly used in research. As it is in the case of tests involving single sample proportions, a difference between two proportions can be treated as a special case of differences between two means.¹ If we are comparing two independent random samples with respect to proportions participating in activities, we can formulate the null hypothesis that the proportion of students participating in activities in the two samples are equal.

The design for testing participation in extra-curricular activities calls for an ordinal scale. The scale utilized ranges from deeply involved to not involved. In this scale, Part II of the Questionnaire, is a section in which respondents may give reason for non-participation in each activity.

Social isolation of black students was measured by utilizing a scale designed by Dwight Dean.² Dean's Social Isolation Scale has a reliability of .84, and has been widely used as a tool for measuring isolation and estrangement from social institutions.

Student perception of faculty will be tested by the use of ten (10) adjectives which students will select the degree of his response nearest the adjective.

The Likert Scale will be used to measure attitudes of respondents.³

¹Hubert Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), p. 176.

²Dwight Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), 753-758.

³R. Likert, "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," Archives of Psychology, CXL (November, 1932), 17.

This scale has been chosen for the Likert technique results in an ordinal scale and because attitudes are construed as varying in quality and intensity on a continuum from positive through neutral to negative.

The sample from the three predominately white colleges was taken from colleges located in Central Iowa. The three colleges were centrally located and were approximately twenty-five miles from each other. The colleges that were tested included: Drake University, Simpson College, and Central College.

The three predominately black colleges employed in the study were located in Alabama. Two the schools were located in Central Alabama, and the other was located in North Alabama. The three black colleges included: Tuskegee Institute, Alabama State University, and Alabama A & M University.

At the predominately white colleges, rosters of all black students attending the schools were obtained. From the roster an independent random sample was drawn. A sample size of seventy (70) was utilized in the study which was approximately 28 per cent of the entire black student population (251) at the three colleges. Males and females were equally represented according to their proportion in the college population, with 34 females and 36 males. The overall black student population consisted of 138 males and 113 females, as illustrated in Table 1. It is noted that 52.58 per cent of the black student population are males and 51.42 per cent of the random sample are males. On the other hand, 45.02 per cent of the black student population were females, and 42.85 per cent of the sample were females. There is also an equal representation of upper and lower classmen in the sample as Table 2 illustrates. In Table 2, of the black student population, freshmen and sophomores make up 69 per cent

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENTS BY SEX AT THREE PREDOMINATELY WHITE COLLEGES

Sex	Black Student Population		Sample Population	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Males	132	52.58	36	51.42
Females	119	47.42	34	48.58
Total	251	100.00	70	100.00

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENTS BY CLASSIFICATION AT THREE PREDOMINATELY WHITE COLLEGES

Classification	Black Student Population		Sample Population	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Freshmen	108	43	29	41.42
Sophomores	65	26	18	25.72
Juniors	35	14	11	15.72
Seniors	43	17	12	17.14
Total	251	100	70	100.00

of the entire black student population, and in the random sample freshmen and sophomores make up 67.14 per cent of the sample. Thus, the sample is representative of the black population as there is statistically no significant difference. Juniors and seniors make up 31 per cent of the entire black student population, and 32.86 per cent of the sample which makes the sample representative of upper classmen as there is no significant

difference between the two groups.

The predominately white colleges had an undergraduate student population of approximately 8500 persons. The racial make-up of the college consisted of 8,249 white students (97 per cent) and 251 black students (3 per cent). The college is a private, non-denominational school located in the Midwestern section of the United States.

The sample from three predominately black colleges was obtained with the use of two black seniors who were members of the school Student Government Association.

A list of all black students attending the three colleges, was obtained from the Colleges' Student Affairs Officer. From the rosters, a simple random sample of size 150 black students was drawn from the black student population which consisted of approximately 7,500 undergraduates. Males and females were equally represented in the sample as Table 3 illustrates. In the sample, males constitute 38 per cent of the group, and in the black male student population they make up 40 per cent, a statistically insignificant difference. Females in the total black student population constituted 60 per cent, whereas females in the sample made up 62 per cent.

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENTS BY SEX AT A PREDOMINATELY BLACK
COLLEGE

Sex	Black Student Population		Sample Population	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Females	4,500	60	93	62
Males	3,000	40	77	38
Totals	7,500	100	150	100

The sample is also representative of the black student population according to distribution of upper and lower classmen. As Table 4 illustrates, the percentage of black freshmen and sophomores form 63 per cent of the overall student body. Freshmen and sophomores in the sample make up 62 per cent of the group, which is representative of the lower classmen of the entire black student population. Upper classmen make up 37 per cent of the student population and 38 percent of the sample, also statistically the same and representative of the black student population.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENTS BY CLASSIFICATION AT THREE
PREDOMINATELY BLACK COLLEGES

Classification	Black Student Population		Sample Population	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Freshmen	2,850	38	54	36
Sophomores	1,875	25	39	26
Juniors	1,350	18	30	20
Seniors	1,425	19	27	18
Totals	7,500	100	150	100

The three predominately black colleges have student undergraduate populations of approximately 7,500 undergraduates. The racial make-up of the colleges consist of 7,200 black students (96 per cent), and 300 white students (4 per cent). The colleges are non-denominational schools located in the Southeastern United States.

In the two samples, all individuals had an equal chance of being chosen, to insure randomness; and the two samples are independent of each

other, to guarantee independence.

The methods employed in this study included the interview, questionnaire, and participant-observation methods. Questionnaires in this study were self-administered with the assistance of four aides. Respondents who lived on campus were approached and given the questionnaire; these particular questionnaires were returned the same day they were administered. However, individuals who found it inconvenient to fill the questionnaire out "on the spot", were instructed to fill out and return it to the researcher or one of his aides.

Of the three predominately black colleges, 175 questionnaires were administered and 150 (85 per cent) were returned. Of the three predominately white colleges, 80 questionnaires were administered, and 70 (87 per cent) were returned.

Students were instructed of the importance of returning the questionnaires with all the questions answered according to their opinion or feeling.

The questionnaire was divided into five main parts. Part I dealt with the personal background of the respondents, e.g., sex, classification, size of hometown, etc. Part II was concerned with student participation in extra-curricular activities at their respective colleges. The scale for student participation ranged from Deeply Involved (DI) to Not Involved (NI); Part III addressed itself to the high school background of the students; Part IV dealt with student perception; and Part V dealt with social isolation of the respondents. The questionnaire was relatively short, as it required from 20 to 25 minutes to complete.

CHAPTER II

ON BLACK SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

High School

In October, 1971, there were approximately 1.1 million students enrolled in nursery school, 3.3 million in kindergarten, 33.5 million in elementary school, 15.2 million in high school, and 8.1 million in college.¹

Both white and black young adults, 20 to 24 years, were less likely to be high school dropouts than were those 30 to 34 years old who would have left school 10 years earlier. Among whites who were 20 to 24 years old, 16 per cent were high school dropouts (that is, not enrolled in school and not a high school graduate). But among whites who were 30 to 34 years old, 23 per cent were high school dropouts. Among blacks, 31 per cent (nearly twice that for whites) of the 20 to 24 year olds were high school dropouts as compared with 41 per cent of the 30 to 34 year olds.²

In the sample of black students attending three predominately white colleges, 48.58 per cent of the students were graduates of predominately black high schools, with 34.28 per cent from predominately white high schools, and 17.14 per cent from all-black high schools. Thus, 65.62 per

¹United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Report, Series P-20, No. 234, "School Enrollment in the United States, 1971."

²Ibid.

cent, nearly two-thirds, of all black students in the sample were graduates of high schools in which blacks were in the majority, as Table 5 illustrates.

TABLE 5

BLACK STUDENTS AT THREE PREDOMINATELY WHITE COLLEGES BY
TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATED

Type High School Graduated	Predominately White College	
	Number	Per Cent
Predominately Black	34	48.58
Predominately White	24	34.28
All Black	12	17.14
Total	70	100.00

Black students in the sample from the predominately black colleges who had graduated from predominately black high schools numbered 51.33 per cent; with 22.67 per cent coming from predominately white high schools; and over one-fourth, 26 per cent were graduates of all-black high schools. Over 75 per cent of the sample were graduates of high schools in which whites were in the minority, as Table 6 illustrates.

TABLE 6

BLACK STUDENTS AT THREE PREDOMINATELY BLACK COLLEGES BY
TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATED

Type High School Graduated	Predominately Black College	
	Number	Per Cent
Predominately Black	77	51.33
Predominately White	34	22.67
All Black	39	26.00
Total	150	100.00

According to figures released by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare the estimated extent of desegregation for the Continental United States as a whole in the current school year (1972) are:

Blacks in 0 - 49.9 per cent Minority Schools	35.6 per cent
Blacks in 80-100 per cent Minority Schools	49.5 per cent
Blacks in 100 per cent Minority Schools	11.6 per cent

An estimated 15 per cent of the public school children in the United States are black. In a table prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, entitled "Negro Pupils in 76 of the Largest School Districts," 47 per cent of the 76 urban school districts covered experienced a net drop in their total populations.¹ In some cases it was slight as in Akron, Ohio. In some cases, it was very big as in Atlanta, Georgia, which lost above 5,000 school children, and Richmond, Virginia, which lost 3,000.

In each of these urban school districts with shrinking numbers of pupils, moreover, there was a simultaneous increase in the percentage of black children in these schools. Usually, this did not happen because there were more black school children. Most often, their numbers remained almost stable, as in Atlanta, where only 41 more black school children were added to the former black total of 15,413 students.²

Yet the black percentage still rose. The rise in Atlanta, for instance, was from 68.7 to 72.1 per cent in the school system. It is mathematically obvious, thus, that the overall changes in figures can only be

¹U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Civil Rights, Negro Pupils in 76 of the Largest School Districts, January 16, 1972 (Washington, D. C., Office of the Secretary, 1972), pp. 1-8.

²Ibid., pp. 9-11.

explained by white flight -- by white families with their children moving away, in search for "better" schools, or whatever, while black families stayed behind.

Between 1970 and 1971, the Baltimore schools have gone from 67.2 to 68.2 per cent black; the Chicago schools have gone from 54.8 to 55.8 per cent black; and the Detroit schools from 63.8 to 65 per cent black. These figures may be compared with 1966 percentages, for Baltimore, 61; for Chicago, 52, and for Detroit, 55.5 per cent.¹

The general trend seems to be that black families find it a lot harder to move to the suburbs than white families. But from a practical point of view, the figures mean that more and more of the great center cities are getting nearer and nearer to being vast urban ghettos.

Desegregation of public schools in the United States is far from complete. Perhaps even more important, desegregation has progressed much more slowly in the North and West than in the South. The lack of progress in the North reflects the greater degree of segregation in housing in urban areas. The chance of a neighborhood school being segregated is greater in the North than in the South because of housing patterns. In 1968, 49.4 per cent of black students were still in schools which were over 80 per cent black, and 14 per cent of blacks in 1970 were still in schools which were 100 per cent black. These figures on blacks in the 100 largest school districts indicate that 21 per cent of blacks were in 100 per cent black schools in 1970. Section wise, the Border states and the District of Columbia had the greatest percentage of black students in 100

¹Ibid., pp. 9-11.

per cent black schools with 30.9; the Northern and Western states had 16.6, and the Southern states had 24.6 per cent blacks in 100 per cent schools -- a drop from 64.6 in 1968.¹

College

There were 6.3 million students 16 to 34 years old enrolled in the first four years of college in October 1970. About 1.7, or 27 per cent, of the students reported that they were enrolled in two-year colleges, and 2.2 million, or 36 per cent, reported that they were enrolled in the first two years of a four year college.²

There were 482,000 black students enrolled in the first four years of college in October 1970. About 336,000 or 70 per cent of the black students were enrolled in the first two years of college. Black students comprised 8 per cent of all undergraduate students and a similar proportion of the students enrolled in the first two years of college as shown in Table 7.

In 1971 there were 680,000 black students enrolled in college in the United States, with the largest increase coming from blacks entering predominately white or previously all-white institutions.³

¹ U. S. Congress, House, Representative Stokes delivered a message from the Congressional Black Caucus on School Busing, 92 Cong., 2nd sess. March 22, 1972, Congressional Record 2375.

² United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Report, Series P-20 No. 231, "Undergraduate Enrollment in Two-Year and Four-Year Colleges," October 1970, 2.

³Ibid.

TABLE 7

YEARS OF COLLEGE, AGE, AND RACE OF PERSONS 16 TO 34 YEARS
OLD ENROLLED IN THE FIRST YEARS OF COLLEGE:
OCTOBER 1970

(Number in Thousands, Civilian Non-Institutional
Population)

Race and Age	Total Under-graduate Enrollment	Year of College	
		1st and 2nd Year	3rd and 4th Year
<u>ALL RACES</u>			
Total, 16 to 34 Years Old	6,274	3,951	2,323
Per Cent	100.0	63.0	37.0
16 to 19 Years Old	2,854	26,693	161
20 and 21 Years Old	1,803	467	502
25 to 34 Years Old	750	427	326
<u>NEGRO</u>			
Total, 16 to 34 Years Old	482	336	146
Per Cent	100.0	69.7	30.3
16 to 19 Years Old	213	200	13
20 and 21 Years Old	149	61	88
22 to 24 Years Old	55	33	22
25 to 34 Years Old	68	45	23

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Report
No. 231, 1970.

CHAPTER III

SELECTED ATTITUDES OF BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS

Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities

Black students who choose predominately white colleges may discover that activities on these campuses are designed for white middle-class students. Since the arrival of black students on many previously all-white college campuses, is a recent occurrence, organizations and activities have not been able to adjust to meet the varied interests and needs of black students.

In a comparison of black students attending the three predominately black and white colleges, Table 8 shows that 60 per cent of black students at the white colleges were involved in dating and social life, as opposed to 97.33 per cent of the black students involved in dating and social life at the black colleges. The activities that blacks were most involved included cultural activities, such as dances, 50 per cent of the students were involved in this activity at the white colleges. At the black colleges, a significantly larger percentage of black students were involved in dances, 90 percent were involved in this activity.

In the white colleges, blacks were involved in fraternities and sororities minimally. Only seven per cent of the black students were involved in this activity. The percentage of black students at the black colleges involved in similar activities was nearly four times, or 26 per cent. Thus,

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF BLACK STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN CAMPUS ACTIVITIES
AT THREE PREDOMINATELY BLACK AND THREE PREDOMINATELY
WHITE COLLEGES

Activities	Predominately White		Predominately Black	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Religious	28	40.00	63	42.00
Campus	28	40.00	138	92.00
Fraternity or Sorority	7	10.00	39	26.00
Career Interest Club	14	20.00	66	44.00
School Spirit	21	30.00	115	76.66
Student Government	35	50.00	113	75.33
Dating and Social Life	42	60.00	146	97.33
Athletics	28	40.00	72	48.00
Dances	35	50.00	135	90.00

black students at the predominately white colleges were three times as likely to be non-participants in fraternities and sororities when compared with blacks at the predominately black colleges.

Black females at the predominately white colleges are less involved in activities of all the students tested. Over half, 55.88 per cent of the females attending the white colleges were not involved in dating and social life, as compared to 2.15 per cent of the females at the black colleges as indicated in Table 9. Black females are less likely to be involved in activities and often feel "confined" and isolated. One-fourth, 25 per cent of the black males at the white colleges were not involved in dating and social life, and only 2.15 per cent of the males at the black

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF NON-INVOLVEMENT IN DATING AND SOCIAL LIFE OF
BLACK STUDENTS ATTENDING THREE PREDOMINATELY WHITE
AND THREE PREDOMINATELY BLACK COLLEGES

Sex	Predominately White		Predominately Black	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Male	9	25.00	2	2.59
Female	19	55.88	2	2.15

colleges indicated that they were not involved in similar activities.

Blacks at the white colleges were also less involved in dances when compared to the percentage involved at the black colleges. At the white colleges, 76.47 per cent of the females were not involved in dances. Whereas, 9.67 per cent of the females at the black colleges were non-participants in dances, as illustrated in Table 10. The percentage of black males at the white colleges classified as non-participants in dances was 9.37 per cent, and for males at the black colleges the percentage classified as non-participants was 1.58 per cent.

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF NON-INVOLVEMENT IN DANCES OF BLACK STUDENTS
ATTENDING THREE PREDOMINATELY WHITE AND THREE PRE-
DOMINATELY BLACK COLLEGES
BY SEX

Sex	Predominately White		Predominately Black	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Male	9	9.37	6	7.79
Female	26	76.47	9	9.67

The responses that were given by black students at the predominately white colleges included, "white oriented" (22.86 per cent), "not relevant" (12.86 per cent), "no opportunity" (11.43 per cent). As for the reason for non-participation in dating and social life, the responses included, "no opportunity" (17.14 per cent), and "white oriented" (14.28 per cent), as shown in Table 11. A significantly high percentage of students gave the response "white oriented" as the reason for non-participation in religious activities, which 42.86 per cent responding in this manner, for fraternities and sororities, 54.29 per cent responded, and for career interest club activities, 50 per cent responded in this manner. One-half, 50 per cent, of the students gave the response "no interest" as the reason for non-involvement in school spirit activities.

TABLE 11

EXPRESSED REASONS FOR NON-PARTICIPATION OF BLACK STUDENTS
IN ACTIVITIES AT THREE PREDOMINATELY WHITE COLLEGES

Activities	No Interest Per Cent	White Oriented Per Cent	No Opportunity Per Cent	Not Relevant Per Cent	No Time Per Cent
Religious	(3) 4.28	(30) 42.86		(9) 12.86	
Campus	(8) 11.43	(8) 11.43		(3) 4.29	(2) 2.85
Fraternity-Sorority	(10) 14.28	(38) 54.29	(3) 4.29	(10) 14.28	(2) 2.85
Career Interest	(12) 17.14	(35) 50.00		(9) 12.86	
School Spirit	(35) 50.00	(9) 12.86		(5) 7.14	
Student Government	(7) 10.00	(9) 12.86	(10) 14.28	(9) 12.86	
Dating and Social Life	(3) 4.29	(10) 14.28	(12) 17.14	(3) 4.29	
Athletics	(20) 28.58		(12) 17.14	(5) 7.14	(5) 7.14
Dances		(16) 22.86	(8) 11.43	(9) 12.86	(2) 2.85

Numbers in parentheses indicate frequency.

Generally, students from lower status homes participate in activities to a smaller extent than students coming from more privileged backgrounds.

College activities on predominately white campuses tend to be dominated by middle class students, and that where black students do participate in activities, it is likely to be in activities or exclusive groups built around their own minority status, such as dances, Afro-clubs, Black Houses, Black Student Unions, and other organizations that black students can feel "free".

Since a large portion of black students, over 50 per cent, will have come from high schools, and neighborhoods which were predominately black, activities of the white colleges currently are unable to effectively meet the special needs of black students.

When comparing black students' dissatisfaction with the cultural and social aspects of college, 88.23 per cent of the females at the white college were dissatisfied, 72.22 per cent of the males had similar feelings. At the black colleges, 26.88 per cent of the females were dissatisfied with the social and cultural aspects of their college, for males 28.57 per cent were dissatisfied. (See Table 12).

An attempt was made to assess the degree of dissatisfaction with the choice of college of blacks attending predominately black and white colleges. As Table 13 illustrates, 97.05 per cent of black females and 72.22 per cent black males were dissatisfied with their choice of college. For black students attending black colleges, 46.75 per cent males and 45.16 per cent of the females were dissatisfied with their choice of college.

Black students at the predominately white colleges were less active either as spectators or performers in cultural activities, such as, social

TABLE 12

COMPARISON OF BLACK STUDENTS WHO ARE DISSATISFIED WITH SOCIAL
AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COLLEGE BY SEX

Sex	Predominately White		Predominately Black		D%
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Females	30	88.23	25	26.88	61.35
Males	26	72.22	22	28.57	43.65

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF BLACK STUDENT DISSATISFACTION WITH COLLEGE AT
THREE PREDOMINATELY WHITE AND THREE PREDOMINATELY BLACK
COLLEGES BY SEX

Sex	Predominately White		Predominately Black		D%
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Females	33	97.05	42	45.16	51.89
Males	26	72.22	36	46.75	25.47

life, dating, dances, school interest, and campus activities when compared with blacks attending predominately black colleges. Blacks at the white colleges tended to view their non-participation status as racially imbued. They also have a tendency to view their minority status as a major determining factor in their non-participation.

Interracial dating is another aspect of campus life investigated in the study. Data on interracial dating on the white campuses showed that 17.64 per cent of the black females had participated, and 69.44 per cent of the black males indicated that they had dated person of another race. (See Table 14). On the other hand, 16.12 per cent of the females at the

black colleges indicated that they had interracially dated, as for males, 25.97 per cent indicated that they had dated interracially. Thus, it appears that black females and males are involved in interracial dating on a relatively small scale. Females at black and white schools were involved in interracial dating to a similar degree. However, black males on the white campus were deeply involved in interracial dating, with over two-thirds participating. Interracial dating on the part of black males, could possibly have negative effects on the involvement in social and cultural activities on the white campus of black females.

TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF BLACK STUDENTS WHO HAVE INTERRACIALLY DATED AT
THREE PREDOMINATELY BLACK AND THREE PREDOMINATELY
WHITE COLLEGES

Sex	<u>Predominately White</u>		<u>Predominately Black</u>		D%
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Females	6	17.64	15	16.12	1.52
Males	25	69.44	20	25.97	43.47

Henry H. Parker, a black professor told a group of small college administrators that black students come to white colleges to die, academically and socially. He feels that white campuses are a different kind of world for blacks. Coming from a black environment to a white campus is like going to China. Black students, Parker feels, need pre-conditioning for this. During this orientation, the president and deans of predominately white colleges must be honest with blacks. Black students should be told that their social life will be dramatically limited. Parker

states that students need to know this ahead of time.¹

A student, Dwight W. Carr, at a predominately white college felt that if you are going to have black students on white campuses, it will take more of a commitment than just providing them with room, board and tuition. He indicated that the present black student on the white campus is so alienated that they sometimes have suicidal tendencies. Carr said that black students demands on white campuses center on four main points--black houses, and funding of programs for blacks, black faculty and black counselors. The demand for black houses serve an academic purpose. Carr felt that blacks could duplicate their life-styles in the houses, then invite whites in to immerse them in our culture for a couple of hours. He further states that black students spend the entire day in an alien environment--maybe one of us is the only one on his floor of a dormitory. We need a sanctuary to flee to in order to maintain our sanity.²

Social Isolation

Black students who for the first time in their lives find themselves in a white, alien environment, as the predominately white college campus may be to some blacks, will experience feelings of isolation, non-belonging, and apartness. Specifically, nearly twice as many, 55.71 per cent, blacks who had graduated from predominately black or all-black high schools felt that they did not get to visit their friends as often as they would really like. Whereas, 28.57 percent of the black students who had graduated from predominately white high schools had similar feelings, as Table 15 illustrates.

¹Henry H. Parker, "Academic Death Wish Among Black Students," (Paper presented at a workshop at the University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa, February 20, 1972), p. 3.

²Dwight W. Carr, Ibid., pp. 7-8.

TABLE 15

SOCIAL ISOLATION OF BLACK STUDENTS AT THREE PREDOMINATELY WHITE
COLLEGES BY RACIAL COMPOSITION OF HIGH SCHOOL

<u>Statement of Isolation</u>	<u>Black Students Who Agree With Statement</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
I Don't Get to Visit Friends Often Enough		
Predominately White High School	20	28.57
Predominately Black High School	32	45.71
All Black	7	10.00
Total	59	84.28

Black students who do have relationships with whites tend to be of a superficial or formal manner. With the effect and presence of separate cultural and social experiences, few black students on the white campuses, find it convenient to form close associations with whites. In the face of subtle and not so subtle rebuffs, a few black students reach an undiscussed "understanding" with white "others" to maintain a "proper social distance," but most black students limit their associations to their "own" racial group.

As interaction between the races increases, because of increased enrollment of black students at white colleges, trust and confidence between black and white students appear to decrease. Since blacks feel that support from whites is not dependable, they increasingly turn to each other. They are reluctant to risk white friendship that may turn out to

be fragile and unstable.¹

Black and white students, coming as they do from separate communities with subcultural differences and experiences, enter into relationships which are often dampened by mutual suspicion growing out of previous experiences and the prevailing stereotypes. This psychological set puts a straightjacket around the participants and does not permit them to judge each other at face value. Often what starts out as a genuine desire to breakdown interracial barriers turns out to be a stultified, tension-riddled and unsatisfying situation. The consequences of these types of strains and tensions are that those who because of propinquity or perceived mutual interests, would tend to associate with one another, find it easier to avoid entirely or to limit their interracial contact. The tensions of campus life on white campuses lead black students to seek security with their own group.

In a comparison of black students who felt "part of or belonging" to their particular college, nearly one-half -- 49 per cent -- of the black students at the white colleges stated they did not feel part of or belonging to their respective college. Whereas, on the black campuses, 26.67 stated that they did not feel part of or belonging to their college as Table 16 illustrates.

Student Perception

In viewing black students on the college campus, one may see the campus as being in many ways a mirror of the larger society or community.

¹Charles V. Willie and John D. Levy, "On White Campuses, Black Students Retreat Into Separatism: A Black Coed Says: White Boys Are Afraid of Us," Psychology Today, (March, 1972), 50.

TABLE 16

COMPARISON OF BLACK STUDENT PERCEPTION OF THEMSELVES AS BEING
"PART OF" OR "BELONGING TO" THEIR COLLEGE

<u>Statement</u>	<u>Predominately White</u>		<u>Predominately Black</u>		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>D%</u>
Feel "Part Of" or "Belonging To" the College					
Yes	11	15.72	98	65.33	49.61
Uncertain	10	14.28	12	8.00	6.28
No	49	70.00	40	26.67	43.33
Total	70	100.00	150	100.00	

Blacks in the United States are victims of segregation, in housing, school, and other social institutions. Thus, in many instances blacks do not interact in a personal way with whites. Black and white students bring to the college community the social attitudes they have acquired or have been developing in their homes and environments away from home.

Black students who have attended predominately black or all-black high schools may have difficulty in perceiving their instructors at the predominately white colleges as persons concerned about their success in the classroom and in the larger society. These students would have different perception of white instructors than would the black student who attended a predominately black college.¹

As Table 17 illustrates, over one half, 54.42 per cent of black students at the white colleges perceived the majority student body

¹Elkind, op. cit., pp. 241-242.

TABLE 17

STUDENT PERCEPTION AT THREE PREDOMINATELY BLACK AND THREE
PREDOMINATELY WHITE COLLEGES

Student Perception	Predominately White		Predominately Black		D%
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Friendly	16	22.86	102	68.00	45.14
Indifferent	36	54.42	23	15.33	39.04
Unfriendly	11	15.72	18	12.00	3.67
Hostile	7	10.00	7	4.67	5.33
Total	70	100.00	150	100.00	

as being "indifferent" toward the black student, whereas only 12 per cent of the students at the black colleges felt this way.

In speaking to the problem of black students, Arthur H. Miller pointed out that the difficulty sometimes is in knowing whether a white "friend" accepts black students or the stereotypes. On the bases of his experience, Miller stated the following:

I am forced to think that you expect Negroes to have attitudes, habit, and feelings different from your own and that I, being Negro, will both exhibit and interpret them. I can refuse compliance with your expectation only at the risk of physical extinction or psychological disintegration. So I conform; but in doing so, I have become afflicted with dual role and correspondingly a kind of dual personality--struggling between the desire and need to respond naturally The cruel dilemma is that sometimes I actually don't know when I am playing a role and when I am being my natural self. It's like being smothered. I want to holler.¹

¹Arthur H. Miller, "Problems of the Minority Student on the White Campus," Liberal Education, LV (March, 1969), 18-23.

Black students at the predominately white colleges felt that among the obstacles facing the black students included "cultural and social continuity," 34.28 per cent of the students felt this way. Black students find it difficult to maintain social life that they have been accustomed. That is, "soul dances", and house parties are not standard activities on the white campuses. Thus, it may become necessary for black students to form their own "social groups" by demanding black houses, Afro-clubs, and black student unions.

Prejudice and racism were listed by 28.86 percent of the black students as a major obstacle facing black students; one out of every five students, 20.44 per cent, felt that by not having enough blacks -- either as instructors or students -- was a major obstacle; and 10 per cent of the students felt that lack of unity was a major obstacle facing black students on the white campus as Table 18 illustrates.

TABLE 18

ATTITUDES OF OBSTACLES FACING BLACK STUDENTS AT THREE PRE-
DOMINATELY WHITE COLLEGES

Statement of Obstacles Facing Black Students	Number	Per Cent
Prejudice and Racism	16	28.86
Not Enough Blacks	11	15.72
White Oriented	8	11.42
Lack of Unity	7	10.00
Lack of Cultural and Social Continuity	24	34.28
Lack of Black Professors	4	5.72
Total	70	100.00

Similar data was obtained from blacks at the white colleges as to their feeling of their instructors' "capacity" or "ability" to "relate" to them. Over 68.57 per cent felt that instructors were not capable of relating to black students; on the black campuses, 14 per cent of the black students felt that instructors were not capable of relating to them.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In 1971 there were over 680,000 black students enrolled in the nation's colleges and universities. The largest increase in black student enrollment has been in institutions which have been traditionally white. With the increase in the number of black students attending these formerly all-white colleges, various problems have arisen which the universities are presently unable to solve. The problem of black student non-participation in extra-curricular activities on white campuses has caused blacks to seek sanctuaries in "black houses" which they feel duplicate their social and cultural lifestyles that is lacking on the over-all white campus. A comparison of black student participation in extra-curricular activities revealed that black students on the white campuses were involved to a lesser degree in campus activities than those black students on the black campuses. The activities in which the largest percentage of black students were involved included dating and social life, and dances. When black students at the white colleges were compared with students at the black colleges, a significant difference in the percentage of student involvement was noticed. Students at black colleges were twice as likely to be participants in dating than their counterparts at white colleges. As far as dances are concerned, blacks at white colleges were three times as likely to be non-participants than students at black colleges.

Black women on white campuses were the least likely to be participants in dating, dances and social life. With black males engaged in interracial dating to a greater extent than black women, the black female on white campuses may find that social life can be a frustrating experience.

Black students on the white campuses indicated that the most meaningful relationship they had were with persons of the "own" group or race. Black students on both black and white campuses tend to "socialize" with persons of their own race. Black students on white campuses are surrounded on all sides by white middle-class "culture", a fact which tends to cause many blacks to seek the "security" of other blacks; and on weekends, when the black student can "get away", he goes to the nearest urban center which has a black community. Black students on white campuses felt that the college was an "alien" place, particularly for those students who had graduated from predominantly black or all-black high schools. These students also had difficulties perceiving their white college instructors as people actually concerned with their success in the classroom as well as in the larger society.

Black students on white campuses tended to view the campus as racially imbued. They felt that the major obstacles facing the black student in such a situation are: (1) cultural and social continuity, (2) prejudice and racism (3) an insufficient number of blacks, students and professors, and (4) white-oriented activities. Those students on white campuses for the first time, indicated a feeling of alienation, apartness and non-belonging. Over half of the black students perceived the white students as acting "indifferent" toward them; whereas, only 12 per cent of the blacks at black colleges felt this way. Black and white students on

white campuses who came from different social and cultural backgrounds usually entered into relationships often loaded with suspicion and distrust.

The isolation, alienation and rejection, borne of the black student's non-participation in the non-academic structure, have several other inter-related consequences for the black student. When insulted and demeaned, he becomes disorganized, leaving his studies and running to the security of his own group to regain composure.

When comparing blacks who felt "part of" or "belonging" to their particular college, blacks at predominantly black schools were twice as likely to feel that they belonged or were part of their colleges than blacks at the white colleges. Thus, a high percentage of blacks at white schools, seven out of ten, feel isolated and apart from the over-all college surroundings.

The movement that has united black students on the white campus is an amalgam of at least three elements.

1. The black movement in the society at large, which increasingly emphasizes the value of asserting "blackness" rather than the old goal of "integration".
2. The student-power movement, in which both white and black students confront the university administrations and structures that they regard as anachronistic.
3. The identity crisis that most young persons experience at some time or another, but which may be particularly acute for members of minority groups.

As black students turn to each other more and more, we find that the quality of black students' lives on white college campuses is contingent

upon the number of black students enrolled. Our findings indicated that very small black populations may cause black students to develop stand-off relationships between men and women. Complaints about dating and concern over compatibility were less often topics for discussion on the campuses where black student enrollment was relatively large. There was also much more off-campus activity in the small black student population: rather than spend their weekends in the college community, the students returned home or went to the black communities in the nearest metropolitan center for social activity.

On campuses where the black population is relatively small and the social lives of their members are limited to interaction with each other, the black students take on the character of extended families.¹ Relationships, including those that might otherwise be secondary, become intensely personal. The black students who make unlimited claims upon each other find such relationships sometimes supportive, but they also find them sometimes stultifying and confining.²

Small black student enrollment on white campuses eliminates anonymity -- the old small-town syndrome. A person's "reputation" is well-known on the campus, and by the time one becomes a sophomore or a junior, this familiarity between individuals can interfere with new dating opportunities. As one female student put it, ". . . everyone knows everybody on this campus and by the time you stay here a year, everyone knows you, whom you've gone with, what you're like, what you're doing, what you're not doing,

¹Willie and Levy, op. cit., p. 74.

²Ibid., p. 76.

whether it's worth their time or not."¹

Finally, several conclusions may be briefly stated from data gathered in this study of the attitudes of blacks attending three predominately black and three predominately white colleges.

1. The black students' fears and feelings of isolation, alienation and disaffection he experiences at predominately white schools lead him to seek the security of his own group, other blacks.
2. Black students at the predominately white colleges are involved to a lesser degree in extra-curricular activities than black students at black colleges.
3. Black women at the white colleges are the most isolated of all black students, and are more likely to be non-participants in social and cultural activities.
4. Black students at white colleges perceive the campus as racially imbued -- racially oriented -- and feel that this is a major obstacle facing black students.
5. A significantly high percentage of blacks at the white colleges feel apart or not belonging to the over-all college environment.

The data tend to support the three hypotheses set forth in this study. Although black students are entering white colleges in an increasing number, their presence on many college campuses is hardly noticeable.

As the number of black students increase on the white campus, this may give the student more opportunities to interact with persons of

¹Ibid., pp. 77-78.

similar background and interests.

Black students who choose white colleges or universities which are located in areas which lack black communities, or are distant from urban centers, will have to re-orientate themselves for their social life, dating and cultural activities will be dramatically reduced. On the other hand, blacks who attend predominately black colleges may find the transition to college life relatively easy, as far as social and cultural activities are concerned. The change to a black college environment is less difficult for the student, as there are fewer social and cultural discontinuities to act negatively upon the individual.

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APPENDIX

Since one of the basic tools employed in this study was the survey-interview method, the following questionnaire was utilized in obtaining the needed information from respondents.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questionnaire is administered in an attempt to gain insight on the attitudes of black students attending college. As there is much needed research to be done in this field, it is important that you answer the questions thoroughly and truthfully according to your own feelings.

I. School _____ Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female

Classification ☐ Freshman ☐ Sophomore

☐ Junior ☐ Senior

Hometown ☐ Below 5,000 ☐ 5,000 - 50,000

☐ 50,000 - 100,000 ☐ Over 100,000

II. Below are listed some activities with which some people are involved and others not involved. Please give us your status concerning these items.

Please check (X) in the appropriate spaces as follows:

DI (Deeply Involved
MI (Moderately Involved
SI (Slightly Involved
NI (Not Involved)

1. Religious Activities
☐ DI ☐ MI ☐ SI ☐ NI _____

2. Campus Activities
☐ DI ☐ MI ☐ SI ☐ NI _____

3. Fraternity or Sorority
☐ DI ☐ MI ☐ SI ☐ NI _____

4. Career Interest Club
☐ DI ☐ MI ☐ SI ☐ NI _____

5. School Spirit Activities
☐ DI ☐ MI ☐ SI ☐ NI _____

6. Student Government Activities

() DI () MI () SI () NI _____

7. Dating and Social Life

() DI () MI () SI () NI _____

8. Athletics

() DI () MI () SI () NI _____

9. Dances

() DI () MI () SI () NI _____

10. If you were not involved (NI) in some of the activities that were listed, state briefly in the appropriate blank to the right the reason for non-participation.

III. Answer the following question by checking the appropriate space.

1. The high school that I graduate from was,

() Predominately White () Predominately Black

() All Black () Other, specify _____

IV. How do your professors and instructors act toward you? Please place a check mark (X) on each line in the space which best describes, in general, how your professors or instructors act toward you. The space in the middle is a neutral description-- the spaces closer to the extremes of the continuum are strongest description.

1. Professors and Instructors on this campus are

Unfair	_____	Fair
Friendly	_____	Unfriendly
Prejudiced	_____	Unprejudiced
Cooperative	_____	Uncooperative
Unapproach- able	_____	Approachable

2. What would you say is the black student's greatest obstacle at this college? _____

3. How would you describe the majority student attitude towards you at this college?

() Friendly () Indifferent () Unfriendly () Hostile

V. Below are listed some statesment which may pertain to you as a student at this particular college. Please check (X) the response which best fit your feelings.

1. While attending this college, I have dated persons of another race.

() No () Uncertain () No

2. I am dissatisfied with the social and cultural aspects of this college.

() No () Uncertain () No

3. Do you feel part of or belonging to the over-all student body of this college.

() No () Uncertain () No

4. I don't get to visit my friends as often as I would really like.

() Agree () Uncertain () Disagree